

Life-or-Death Battle Against CIA's Cutthroats

Afghanistan: Jalalabad Must Not Fall!

APRIL 24—After seven weeks of bitter siege warfare, the Afghan provincial capital of Jalalabad continues to hold fast. Attack after attack by the CIA's counterrevolutionary "holy warriors" (*mujahedin*) has been repulsed by the heroic defenders of this beleaguered city as they are pounded by Pakistani artillery. On April 16, the Afghan government news agency Bakhtar reported the reopening of the Kabul-Jalalabad highway, which had been blocked by guerrilla-laid mines. A column of 270 trucks carrying food, weapons, ammunition and fresh reinforcements was able to reach the city. And the *New York Times* (19 April) reported that a convoy of 1,000 armored vehicles and 500 supply trucks arrived in Kabul from the Soviet Union.

The defense perimeter around Jalalabad is today the front line in the war against imperialist reaction, a front line in humanity's struggle for social progress. A victory for the *mujahedin* in Jalalabad, opening the road to a drive on Kabul itself, would not only mean a bloodbath for thousands in the Afghan capital. It could foreshadow the butchery or re-enslavement of all those throughout Afghanistan who have freed themselves from the chains of feudal reaction: women who have taken off the suffocating veil, girls who have learned to read and write, young people who



Afghan government troops defend strategic Salang highway linking Kabul to Soviet Union.

Prashant Panjiar

have chosen to step into the 20th century.

Washington and its Pakistani ally in Islamabad thought the taking of Jalala-

bad would be a cakewalk. Their *mujahedin* killers were armed with billions of dollars of high-tech American weaponry and directed by Pakistani military

intelligence. Puffed up by their "victories" in massacring and raping defenseless civilians and slaughtering
continued on page 9

500,000 Teachers Strike Against Starvation Wages

Labor Showdown in Mexico



Teachers march in Mexico City, April 19, demanding 100 percent wage increase and union democracy.

MEXICO CITY, April 25—Ever since the 1982 debt crisis sent Mexico reeling from oil boom to bust, as real wages were cut in half and unemployment spread, Mexico's rulers and their imperialist backers in Wall Street and Washington have feared the outbreak of popular protest. Now, a month after the "debt bomb" exploded with hunger riots in Venezuela, the imposed government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, described by *Business Week* (20 March) as "arguably the most unpopular president in modern Mexican history," is locked in a test of strength with hundreds of thousands of striking teachers, dissident members of the largest labor organization in Latin America, the National Union of Educational Workers (SNTE).

On April 17, about half a million teachers in 15 states and the federal district walked out in response to the

call of the opposition National Coordinating Committee of Educational Workers (CNTE), in a strike affecting ten million students. The teachers are demanding a 100 percent wage increase and union democracy. In a last-ditch effort to head off the strike, Education Secretary Manuel Bartlett offered an insulting 10 percent wage hike, and 18 percent in benefits (inflation last year was over 50 percent by official figures). But for the teachers, whose \$150-per-month salary is only slightly above the minimum wage, this "increase" is a pitiful 40 cents a day. They will still have to work two jobs to survive. The striking teachers gave their response at a huge April 19 march in the capital, as 200,000 chanted "10 percent, ha, ha, ha!"

The teachers' demands are overwhelmingly popular in this country
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Wilmington, North Carolina

"ILA Is Here to Stay!"

WILMINGTON, North Carolina, April 14—Six hundred members of the International Longshoremen's Association and their supporters marched here today to protest the incursion of the scab Carolina Atlantic Transport Services (CATS) into ILA strongholds on the South Atlantic coast. Chanting "ILA—All the way" and "ILA is here to stay," the unionists marched from the main gate of the North Carolina Port Authority to City Hall. Along the route they were cheered by residents of this city's integrated housing projects. Black longshoremen from Miami, Jacksonville, Charleston and Savannah were joined by members of the largely white ILA clerks and checkers locals: up and down the coast ILAers know it's time to draw the line against the threat of non-union outfits like CATS.

CATS, which operates the scab tug and barge *El Pato* ("The Duck"), is owned by the former head of the North Carolina Port Authority. The ongoing battle to keep Wilmington and Savannah solidly ILA has been marked by cop and scab violence against union

pickets (see "Savannah ILA Fights Scab Operator," *WV* No. 475, 14 April). In Wilmington, the port authority has called out every police agency in the state to intimidate the union. So far over 25 longshoremen have been arrested, and a judge has handed down an injunction limiting Local 1426 to four pickets and prohibiting unionists from even stepping on port property except as part of an "approved" work gang.

On April 8, as 30 longshoremen waited to work a ship late at night, over 200 cops—city, highway patrol, county sheriffs, state narcotics agents—invaded the docks, closing off the gates, hiding behind containers and driving dangerously close to the ILA members. The Local 1426 president told *WV* that the unionists "were scared for their lives," and left the docks single file, making sure no one was left behind. North Carolina cops have a long, bloody history of assaults on blacks and labor, from the reign of terror unleashed against the Communist-led textile strike in Gastonia in 1929 to the cops' conspiracy with the Klan in the murder of



600 ILA longshoremen and supporters march against scab stevedores, April 14.

Greg Washington

five leftists and civil rights activists in Greensboro in 1979.

With the ILA contract coming up in September, scab stevedoring outfits like CATS are a threat to the entire union, and especially the black labor power which the ILA represents in the racist, "open shop" South. A massive display

of union muscle on the picket line can shut down CATS for good, and turn the injunctions of the capitalist courts into worthless scraps of paper. A victory here could be the spark to ignite a fight by the ILA from the Gulf to New York. ILA—All the Way! Pluck the Duck! Shut Down the Ports! ■



TROTSKY

"May Day on the March"

Ever since the 1886 Haymarket massacre in Chicago of workers demonstrating for the eight-hour day, May 1st has become the international workers' holiday. (In the United States, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy has promoted "Labor Day" in September as the red-white-and-blue alternative to red May Day.) In Germany in 1913, Rosa Luxemburg published an essay in which she foresaw that out of the looming imperialist world war would

come workers revolution. When war actually began, the German Social Democracy, like many other sections of the Second International, capitulated to its own bourgeoisie in a frenzy of social-chauvinism. But the internationalist program advanced by Luxemburg and Lenin was realized in October 1917 in Russia with the triumph of the Bolshevik Revolution. Luxemburg and her comrade Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German Communist Party, were martyred in the suppression of the Spartacist uprising in January 1919.

The brilliant basic idea of May Day is the autonomous, immediate stepping forward of the proletarian masses, the political mass action of the millions of workers who otherwise are atomized by the barriers of the state in the day-to-day parliamentary affairs....

The whole development, the whole tendency of imperialism in the last decade leads the international working class to see more clearly and more tangibly that only the personal stepping forward of the broadest masses, their personal political action, mass demonstrations, and mass strikes which must sooner or later open into a period of revolutionary struggles for the power in the state, can give the correct answer of the proletariat to the immense oppression of imperialistic policy.... And the more the idea of May Day, the idea of resolute mass actions as a manifestation of international unity, and as a means of struggle for peace and for socialism, takes root in the strongest troops of the International, the German working class, the greater is our guarantee that out of the world war which, sooner or later, is unavoidable, will come forth a definite and victorious struggle between the world of labor and that of capital.

—Rosa Luxemburg, "The Idea of May Day on the March" (30 April 1913)



LENIN

Victory to Pittston Miners Strike!

APRIL 25—In southwest Virginia and West Virginia, 1,700 coal miners are locked in a battle to defend their union, the United Mine Workers, from a concerted union-busting assault by the Pittston Coal Company. As we go to press, over four hundred miners, including UMW District 28 president Jackie Stump, have been arrested after shutting down Pittston's McClure, Lambert and Moss No. 3 mines in Virginia on April 24-25. The strike is spreading, as UMW members are shutting down other mines which are filling orders for Pittston.

The strike began April 5, after miners worked 14 months without a contract. Pittston Co., which also owns the Brinks armored car company and the Burlington Express commuter airline, has brought in gun-toting thugs from Vance International Security—the same outfit that hired contra mercenaries fresh from Central America to terrorize miners during the 1984-85 A.T. Massey strike. Scores of Virginia state troopers have invaded the coal fields, jailing picketing miners on felony charges. But the strikers are not taking the cop/company goon attacks lying down. In Logan County, West Virginia, some scab coal trucks have met with accidents, and a railroad trestle at Buffalo Creek Hollow caught fire.

But the Pittston strike is threatened by UMW president Richard Trumka's disastrous strategy of "selective strikes" plus "Corporate Campaign"-style consumer boycotts and pleading with big capitalist banks and stockholders. Pittston refused to sign the industry-wide agreement last January, and cut off medical benefits to 1,500 retirees, widows and disabled miners. But Trumka kept miners on the job, except for a six-day memorial work stoppage last June to commemorate the seven miners killed at Pittston's McClure No. 1 mine in a methane explosion in 1983.

Even the 500 Pittston miners in UMW District 30 in Kentucky are being kept on the job—Trumka has only called the strike over narrow "unfair

labor" charges before the National Labor Relations Board. Bowing to the bosses' courts and labor boards is what has decimated the UMW—over half the union has been wiped out in the 1980s. Trumka follows in the footsteps of the hated Arnold Miller, the pro-Labor Department "reformer" who dragged the union into the bosses' courts and crawled before the injunctions in the 1977-78 110-day coal strike.

Trumka has gutted the UMW tradition that "an injury to one is an injury to all." He has abandoned the five Kentucky miners railroaded in the capitalist courts for defending picket lines during the UMW's first "selective strike" at A.T. Massey. Four of these brothers, Donnie Thornsberry, David Thornsberry, Darryl Smith and Arnold Heightland, are serving 35-45 years in the Ashland, Kentucky prison. Last December, the week before Christmas, the UMW International (which has not printed a word in defense of these brothers) withdrew strike benefits from Donnie Thornsberry's family! His wife, Vanita Thornsberry, told *WV* that she has been forced onto welfare. On January 6 their appeal was denied by the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. Paul Smith, a fifth miner who was acquitted of the same trumped-up charges a year ago, faces capital charges of murder in Kentucky. He is appealing this outrageous double jeopardy. Free the Kentucky miners!

The entire UMW must be mobilized in defense of the Pittston strikers—this is a battle the union must not lose. In 1973, the Brookside miners in Bloody Harlan, Kentucky, fought for 13 months to force Duke Power to accept a standard UMW contract. They won when the UMW finally called out 120,000 miners and shut down every union mine in the country in a five-day "memorial" strike. Union caravans must pour into southwest Virginia and send Pittston's gun thugs packing. For an industrywide coal strike, to win a common unionwide contract at every mine! Victory to the Pittston strike! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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28 April 1989

Lorenzo, Ueberroth, Icahn—They're All Union-Busters

Eastern Strike: No Giveback Deals!

The 8,500 striking members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), backed by the pilots and flight attendants, have stood solid on the picket line against Eastern Airlines and union-buster Frank Lorenzo for eight long weeks. But everything that Eastern strikers have fought for is in danger of being sacrificed, as the union misleaders crawl from Congress to the labor-hating judges to federal bankruptcy court to give away what the Machinists have won on the picket line.

For weeks the Eastern strike has been bogged down in federal bankruptcy court in New York, where IAM president William Winpisinger and District 100 chief Charles Bryan have gone begging to a rogues' gallery of junk bond raiders and union-busters like TWA's Carl Icahn to take over the debt-laden Eastern. Bryan offered former baseball commissioner Peter Ueberroth and his crew of shady financiers \$1 billion in givebacks over five years, in exchange for 30 percent "ownership" of the debt-laden airline. But the deal blew up in

April 12 picket protests Eastern boss Lorenzo's speech to Columbia Business School.



their faces on April 12, when Judge Burton Lifland refused to move Lorenzo aside and appoint a trustee (Reagan's secretary of war Frank Carlucci!).

Ueberroth likened Eastern to a "load of fish" sitting around without a buyer.

Now, Lorenzo is preparing to liquidate the airline, selling off the most

valuable planes, routes and airport gates, and folding the rest into non-union Continental. But "Wimpy" and Bryan continue to sit in bankruptcy court, peddling givebacks to "anybody but Lorenzo." But every one of these capitalist sharks—Ueberroth, Icahn, Pritzker—would sell off Eastern's assets and slash wages and thousands of jobs to pay off the spiraling debt in junk bonds.

In the face of the strikebreaker Lorenzo and his threats to liquidate Eastern, playing by the bosses' rules is sure defeat. The jobs of thousands of Eastern workers are on the line: to win, the Machinists, flight attendants and pilots must rip the strike out of the hands of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. The Eastern strike is widely seen as a chance to reverse a decade of defeats under both the partner parties of American capitalism. The 22,000 Transport Workers Union members at American Airlines recently rejected a giveback contract. United flight attendants, Teamsters, airport food service workers—all want to fight. Militants must form elected strike committees throughout the industry and extend the strike. Whether Eastern is sold off or carved up, the unions must demand that every single striker be guaranteed a union job, with wages and benefits equalized throughout the industry at the highest level. *Shut down the airports!* ■

Not "Ban the Klan" But "Fight the Klan!"

Letter to the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee

David Duke's "Populist Party" had said it was holding a "recruitment meeting" at Hayward Public Library April 20, the 100th anniversary of Hitler's birth. This was a deliberate fascist provocation particularly threatening blacks, Latinos, Asians and the labor movement in California's East Bay. The Populists told the press at the April 11 city council meeting that they were canceling their meeting. Subsequently, they announced they were going ahead, only to inform the library on the afternoon of April 20th that it was called off.

In response, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, New Leftists descended from the old Weatherman faction, had appealed to the Hayward city council and mayor to "stop the meeting." In our last issue, we warned that it was a "Travesty of Anti-Fascist Protest" (*WV* No. 475, 14 April) to call on the authorities—and that means the Hayward cops, backed up by the Alameda County sheriff's department—to "ban" the fascists from the library. Despite the Populists' last-minute cancellation, some 200 anti-fascist protesters went ahead with their plans, and a short, chaotic protest was held outside the library.

Two different groups, organized by the Progressive Labor Party and the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, marched from the Hayward BART station to the public library. They were joined by assorted leftists and anarchist youth, as well as a dozen NAACPers, and picketed in separate clumps for about a half hour. Shortly after the demo began, most of the crowd took off after two skinheads, then drifted back. There was a heavy police presence (almost one per demonstrator), including 30 cops in riot gear guarding the entrance. A few scuffles broke out and four people were arrested.

In an article the next day in the Hayward *Daily Review* (21 April), Lisa Roth, spokesman for the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, said, "If the

Hayward City Council didn't want these kinds of things to happen, they shouldn't have allowed racists and Nazis to organize in their city." This remark says it all about the John Brown Committee's repeated appeals to the bourgeois state throughout the course of the Hayward events. Does Ms. Roth know where she is? The cops were there to drive her and her comrades out of town, not get rid of the fascists.

When the John Brown Committee calls on the bourgeois state to ban meetings of right-wing extremists, they might consider that banning communists could be a popular demand in this country, where more than half the people don't believe in evolution (according to noted anthropologist Donald Johanson in the Spring 1989 newsletter of the Institute of Human Origins). The way to stop the fascists is to mobilize mass labor/minority protest—keep the state out of it! We really tried hard to get this point across in a letter to the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, published below. But some people just don't seem to want to learn.

18 April 1989

John Brown Anti-Klan Committee
San Francisco, CA

Attention: Lisa Roth, spokeswoman

Fight the Klan!

The fascist threat in the Bay Area is real, immediate and growing. At least two fascist organizations are actively at work experimenting and learning.

The White Aryan Resistance of Klansman Tom Metzger and his would-be Nazi youth leader son are trying to shape violent young skinheads with their punk-rock culture into racial stormtroopers. The "Populist Party" of David Duke Ku Klux Klan elements is pushing to win a layer of embittered whites in favor of a program centered on white job preference, race segregation in

housing and the ill-treatment of darker-skinned and foreign-born people in general.

Deteriorating social conditions of desperate housing shortages, pathetic wages alongside grotesque affluence describe the Bay Area. Masses of working people and their families are locked into misery and locked out of a better life by racial and language barriers. The potential for class struggle for social and economic betterment is clear, but so is the organization by fascists of deep reaction and bigotry.

It is in this context that, as we noted in *Workers Vanguard* of 14 April in the article about "Hitler's birthday" in Hayward, we believe your organization made a very serious error in demanding that government authorities stop this fascist meeting. An appeal to the government is necessarily an appeal to its police powers, concretely in this case the Hayward Police Department and the Alameda County Sheriff's Office.

This terribly wrong-headed call necessarily invites in the police, encourages

those like the Zionist Anti-Defamation League to violence- and red-bait the anti-fascists. "Civil libertarian" lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union jump in to give expert legal counsel and advice to the fascists. Groupings such as librarians, currently involved in trying to reduce FBI pressure on libraries, are polarized along false lines. And spokesmen for liberal black organizations such as the NAACP make evenhanded or ambiguous declarations about such fascist meetings.

From all this the fascists learn, benefit and tend not to make too many of the same mistakes over again. "Hitler's birthday" could be used as a powerful focus of many-sided anti-fascist unity. Now in Hayward it threatens to just become a police confrontation, and with correspondingly far fewer anti-fascist demonstrators.

To smash fascist attempts at racist terror, it is necessary to unite in mobilizing and counterposing a powerful, integrated labor movement, drawing in militants from the black, Latino and Asian communities, acting independently of government forces and their political backers.

We urge you to reassess calling upon the government to stop fascism. Not "Ban the Klan" but "Fight the Klan!" Many more struggles lie ahead and it is with this truth in mind that we write you.

Yours for anti-fascist victory, for workers power!

Al Nelson
Bay Area Spartacist League

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Feds Dust Off Sedition Laws

RICO Witchhunt Targets Ohio 7

One of the most insidious judicial attacks in years on the rights of the left and labor movement is currently being played out in a courtroom in Springfield, Massachusetts. The trial of Raymond Luc Levasseur, his wife Patricia and Richard Williams, now dragging through its fourth month, caps a federal vendetta going back over a dozen years against these leftist opponents of racism and imperialism. The feds claim that they, along with Carol and Tom Manning and Jaan and Barbara Laaman—collectively known as the Ohio 7—were members of the Sam Melville/Jonathan Jackson Unit and the United Freedom Front, which took credit for bank “expropriations” and bombings targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism including military and corporate offices in the late '70s and early '80s.

In late March, a star government witness, one Felipe Norguera, took the stand. Norguera admitted to lying repeatedly to FBI agents and a 1985 grand jury and denied hearing of or discussing any bombings by the Ohio 7. Ray Levasseur and Williams are already locked away for the rest of their lives on charges stemming from the same alleged crimes for which they are now being tried again. Yet the government is committed to spending at least another year in court and millions of dollars more to put the three leftists away for up to 60 years more on trumped-up “conspiracy” charges under the RICO (Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) and “sedition” laws. The



NY Public Library
Socialist leader Eugene Debs was jailed for opposing U.S. entry into WWI. Debs ran for president from behind bars in 1920.

feds have persecuted the Ohio 7 with a vengeance: wiretaps, dragnets, preventive detention, kidnapping and interrogation of children, prison sentence piled atop prison sentence—all in order to breathe the new life into the defunct sedition laws.

Before their arrests in Ohio and Virginia in 1984 and 1985, the Ohio 7 were targets of massive manhunts throughout the eastern seaboard and Midwest—one in five households in western Massachusetts was questioned. The children were treated like junior “terrorists” themselves. The three Laaman kids were dragged from a birthday party at gunpoint with their hands up and locked away for six weeks. The

Free the Ohio 7!
Left to right: Jaan Laaman, Richard Williams, Barbara Curzi-Laaman, Carol Manning, Tom Manning, Pat Gros Levasseur, Raymond Levasseur.



Mannings' three small children were kidnapped and held incommunicado for nearly two months, released only after a hunger strike and protests by parents and outraged teachers and social workers. The cops held the Levasseur children hostage for six weeks, trying to bribe 11-year-old Carmen with \$20 and a pizza to tell them where Thomas Manning was.

Like many young men of their generation, Raymond Levasseur and Thomas Manning served in Vietnam, developing firsthand repugnance for the bloody crimes of U.S. imperialism. As the trial opened on January 10, in a crowded federal courthouse ringed by nearly a score of U.S. marshals, Levasseur, representing himself, recalled his working-class origins in the textile mills and shoe factories of rural Maine, and his later radicalization:

“I went to Vietnam and I served a full tour of duty, 12 months... I saw another side of U.S. foreign policy. Bombings, killings, search and destroy, devastation, poverty, hunger. I was part of a foreign occupation Army... I came back enraged by what I saw.”

He became involved with the Southern Student Organizing Committee and Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and later helped organize a prisoners' rights organization, and the Red Star North bookstore in Portland, Maine. After intense cop harassment and the emergence of a police death squad which, he suspected, had him on its hit list, Levasseur decided to go underground.

The Springfield trial is the latest in an endless series of prosecutions. After a record 13 days of deliberations following a three-month trial in Brooklyn on the bombing charges three years ago, the jury brought back convictions on less than half the counts in the indictment. A subsequent trial of Thomas Manning and Richard Williams in New Jersey for the 1981 killing of state trooper Philip Lamonaco resulted in a hung jury for Williams, who the cops claimed was the gunman. And Manning, who says he shot Lamonaco in self-defense after the cop tried to blow him away, could only be nailed on a felony (“stealing” his gun back from the cop) during which a killing took place. But that was enough to put him away for life on a charge of “felony murder.”

The RICO conspiracy laws are a stacked deck permitting the government to continually retry defendants for the same alleged criminal acts. As Patricia Gros Levasseur pointed out:

“We're being reindicted under the same charges as in Brooklyn, though now they're calling the acts arson rather than bombings—because only arson is admissible under RICO statutes.”

—Critical Times, May 1988

Raymond Levasseur and Richard Williams are already serving 45-year sen-

tences on the bombing charges; Thomas Manning and Jaan Laaman, 53 years; Carol Manning and Barbara Laaman, 15 years. Patricia Gros Levasseur, the only one currently out on bail, has a five-year sentence hanging over her head for “harboring a fugitive”—her husband! In total, the Ohio 7 (for varying reasons, the other four have been removed from the current case) have already been condemned to prison terms ranging to over 90 years. Why the massive effort to prosecute these people yet again?

Sedition Laws—An Attack on Freedom of Speech

For some years now, this country's rulers have used the sweeping RICO “conspiracy” laws to railroad radical activists and shackle the labor movement. The Reagan/Bush team embarked on a domestic program of social/legal counterrevolution aimed at rolling back civil liberties across the board, designating all political opposition as “terrorism” and intimidating the population as a whole. Nor was it restricted to courtrooms and Congress, as the firebombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia bitterly testified. Basing themselves on a ruling-class consensus for the anti-Soviet war drive, what they wanted was domestic “order,” class peace and the suppression of potential “troublemakers”—e.g., the black population and youth who are slated to be cannon fodder in the next imperialist adventure. Today, in the name of the “war on drugs” Bush seeks to impose virtual martial law on the black population of Washington, D.C.

Reagan's attorney general, Edwin Meese, was not only the nation's “top cop,” but a cop's cop who yearned to construct a perfectly “constitutional” police state for its own sake. Meese's legal agenda read as though he was

trying to re-create in real life the anonymous and arbitrary police state chillingly depicted in Franz Kafka's surrealistic nightmare *The Trial*: everyone is presumed guilty of some crime, sometime, somewhere. Meese waged unrelenting attacks on constitutional protections against illegal search and seizure and against being tried twice for the same crime (“double jeopardy”). He particularly went after the *Miranda* ruling—that suspects must be informed upon arrest of their legal rights against self-incrimination and to a lawyer. This really ate at the man who declared that “if a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect.”

The capstone of this fortified arsenal of police powers was to be the revival of the discredited “sedition” laws, historically the government's weapon of choice to silence “reds” and “anarchists.” The Ohio 7 are charged under the sedition act of 1948 (based on the 1940 Smith Act) with conspiring to “overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States.” Ray Levasseur demolished this ludicrous charge in his opening arguments: “The government wants you to believe that three people are going to conspire to overthrow the most powerful government on the face of the earth.”

Sedition laws are classic war measures to stifle political opposition. The 1918 Sedition Act was used to indict some 2,100 people, including prominent Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, for speaking out against American entry into World War I. It outlaws any “disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the U.S.,” the flag or even “the uniform of the army or navy.” Around the same time, state “criminal syndicalism” and “anarchy” laws targeted the revolutionary Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and early American Commu-

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nists. In the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution, CP and anarchist leaders around the country were prosecuted and imprisoned. Thousands of foreign-born radicals (including American citizens) were rounded up during the 1919-20 Palmer raids, and hundreds deported.

After the postwar red scare served its purpose in suppressing the left, the conspiracy laws were put on the back burner. Then in 1940, on the eve of the U.S.' entry into World War II, the notorious Alien Registration Act, or Smith Act, was passed. This was "the first peacetime sedition law in American history since 1798" (Robert J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America* [1978]). The first victims of the Smith Act, which was later used wholesale during the McCarthy witch-hunt, were the Trotskyist Minneapolis 18, avowed revolutionaries and leaders of the militant Minneapolis Teamsters; their jailing was intended to serve warning on the labor movement at large to fall into line behind the coming imperialist war.

With the onset of the Cold War following World War II, anti-labor and anti-immigrant legislation flourished. Taft-Hartley made it unlawful for trade union officials to be members of communist organizations. The Internal Security (McCarran) Act set up concentration camps for Communists in the event of a "national emergency," and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 once again excluded communists, anarchists and homosexuals from entering the U.S. The 1954 Communist Control Act, brain child of liberal Democrat Hubert Humphrey, declared the CP a "proscribed organization," "not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities...of the laws of the United States."

"Seditious conspiracy" laws are so blatantly in violation of first amendment rights of free expression that they have been virtually impossible to implement except in times of war or war hysteria. The granddaddy of them all, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, was aimed against Jeffersonian opponents of John Adams' Federalist administration and made it a criminal offense to "write, print, utter or publish...any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States." It died with Jefferson's election two years later (but not until 1964 did the Supreme Court finally rule that it had violated "the central meaning of the First Amendment"). In *The System of Freedom of Expression* (1970), Yale law professor Thomas I. Emerson observed: "The fact is that sedition laws are, in the final analysis, a relic of government by monarchy. They are designed to destroy political opposition."

In the past 30 years, the only time the seditious conspiracy law was used to convict anybody was in the case of the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN in 1980. According to Justice Department

spokesman Joseph Krovisky, "After that, you have to go back to the 50's" (*New York Times*, 22 May 1987). That's what it's all about, returning to the witchhunting days of the McCarthy era. McCarthyism was buried under the pressure of the mass civil rights movement and the growth of the predominantly student-based antiwar movement of the 1960s. As a result of the 1957 *Yates* decision, "prosecutions under the Smith Act collapsed" (Emerson). But the American ruling class has been trying to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" since virtually the day after its humiliating defeat in Indochina. Now the government is using its vendetta against the Ohio 7 group as a large step toward illegalizing leftist political activity.

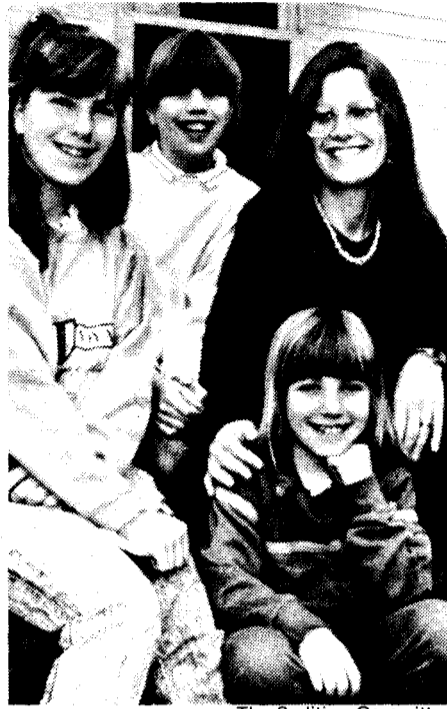
Marxism vs. New Leftism

The Ohio 7 are committed radicals with a long history of opposition to racism and imperialism, including civil rights work in the South, defense of prisoners' rights and anti-apartheid solidarity actions. In the early '70s, they joined neighborhood defense efforts in Boston against rampaging anti-busing racists. The Ohio 7 endorsed the political strategy of the United Freedom Front. Despairing of organizing the proletariat in struggle, they decided that the road to fighting this racist, exploitative system was "clandestine armed resistance" by a handful of dedicated leftists. Richard Williams stated at his sentencing in the Brooklyn trial, "While it would be very heartening to have the masses in this country recognize and support armed struggle—to be fed up enough with the state of the world and the role this government has in it. That has not been a prerequisite for us" ("Sentencing Statements of the Ohio 7," April 1986).

The politics espoused by the Ohio 7 were once the common coin of uncounted thousands of petty-bourgeois radicals during the heyday of the antiwar movement and the New Left. Considering white workers as "bought off" by American imperialism, the largely white, student-based New Left wrote off the possibility of winning the working class to a revolutionary outlook. Instead they looked to "Third World peoples" abroad and at home as surrogate "vanguards" in the struggle to defeat and destroy rapacious American imperialism, and saw the American left as little more than a support group "inside the belly of the beast." But while the Jane Fondas today apologize for the "distress" caused by their visits to Hanoi and the Jerry Rubins have become stockbrokers, the Ohio 7 have remained true to the politics and principles which impelled them into the radical movement years ago. Misguided though their strategy was, at least they meant it.

Now they are paying heavily at the hands of the state for their anti-racism and anti-imperialism, while the New Leftovers who once chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh—NLF is gonna win"

today regard the Ohio 7 as an unpleasant reminder of their leftist past. Articulating the sentiments of this crowd, James Miller, author of *Democracy Is in the Streets: A History of the SDS*, whined: "All I know is their politics aren't mine and I don't want to be associated with them" (*Boston Phoenix*, 21 October 1988). It was precisely because the feds saw them as isolated and unpopular in the rad-lib milieu, and because they had already been convicted, that the government went after the Ohio 7 as the test case for resuscitating the sedition laws.



The Sedition Committee
Patricia Gros Levasseur (right) and her three children. Feds grabbed her kids for interrogation; now she's only allowed to see them with attorney present.

While today's ex-New Lefters were still grooving on multi-vanguardism and vicarious guerrillaism, the Spartacist League was then, as now, fighting to win radicalized youth to the model of Lenin's Bolshevik Party which led the proletariat and the many oppressed nationalities of the tsarist empire in establishing the Soviet workers state. Lenin forged a vanguard party of the working class as a *tribune of the people*, fighting every manifestation of national and racial oppression through a program of proletarian revolution.

Jaan Laaman recalled "the proud heritage of having my grandfather, who unfortunately died before I was born, be involved in the independence struggle of Estonia against the czarist Russian empire, as a member of the Bolshevik Party." But the Bolshevik Party was steeled in political struggle against the Narodniks' politics of "excitative terror" which intoxicated many of Russia's radicalized youth at the time. In "Where to Begin" (1901), Lenin, while not denying "the significance of heroic individual blows," explained that the strategy of individual terror "disorganizes the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution." The Narodniks'

bombings and assassinations led not to revolution but to organizational disintegration. In the 1960s as well, "urban guerrillaism" (albeit largely vicarious) and "going underground" were signs not of the "coming revolution" but of petty-bourgeois *despair* of bringing the working class to revolutionary consciousness.

The Spartacist League stands in the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party. In recent years, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have initiated a string of successful mobilizations centered on the social power of the integrated labor movement to stop fascist marauders in major cities. We have fought for militant solidarity with struggles against imperialist reaction from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. When the FBI's 1983 "Security and Terrorism Guidelines" targeted the Spartacist League, we fought for the right of the workers party to organize. Our successful 1984 lawsuit against the FBI forced the government to formally concede that Marxists are not terrorists—an important protection for the entire left and workers movement.

It is notable that, unlike the Reagan/Bush-inspired abortion clinic bombers whose aims are reactionary and whose methods are murderous, the UFF targeted only unoccupied buildings and preceded its actions with warnings (although a 1976 explosion at Suffolk County Courthouse in Boston went awry, causing 22 injuries). Jaan Laaman stated, "It's clear that the U.S. government and especially its military forces are legitimate targets, whether they are scurrying around the borders of Nicaragua or here in N.Y.C." While considering the strategy of individual terror against the ruling class and its agencies futile, Marxists condemn criminal acts of indiscriminate terror like the Fraunces Tavern bombing in New York City in 1975, attributed to the Puerto Rican FALN.

Patricia Levasseur noted, "we never had any Redeye missiles; we had no tanks; no helicopters; and no hundred million dollars." The United States government rained nuclear death on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; it assassinated and incinerated two million Vietnamese workers and peasants. It murdered 38 Black Panther activists in cold blood and framed those it couldn't kill, like Geronimo Pratt, sending them to rot in jail. Now with the seditious conspiracy case of the Ohio 7 this dangerous government is trying to move a big step closer to its police-state dreams of outlawing leftist political views. An injury to one is an injury to all! The left and labor movement must demand: Drop all charges! Free the Ohio 7!

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the defense of the Ohio 7 and to a Christmas holiday fund set up for the children. We urge our readers to send contributions to: Sedition Committee, Box 4690, Springfield, MA 01101. ■

Cleveland...

(continued from page 12)

defending himself and a friend against a racist attack January 20. After a gang of whites armed with sticks jumped out of a station wagon and began beating up one of his friends outside a grocery store in Collinwood, Shon Hickenbottom, 18, threatened the whites with a gun, and they backed off. But when the blacks turned to leave, one of the whites struck Hickenbottom from behind with a stick, shouting racial epithets and threatening to kill him. Afraid for his life, Hickenbottom shot and killed the attacker. The black youth is charged with voluntary manslaughter and felonious assault. But as his father pointed out at a community protest meeting, "If it had been a blank gun, where would my son be today?" The right of armed

self-defense is a necessity in this deeply racist country.

In response to the popular outrage, black city council president George Forbes announced that he would "let the community relations experts handle it" while he rammed through a ban on so-called "assault weapons" as part of a nationwide attack on the right to bear arms. The mayor declared a "racial harmony day" on March 4, and the Southern Christian Leadership Council sponsored a march of 500, attended by several unions, including heavily integrated AFSCME Locals 3353 and 3360, representing MetroHealth workers. Also present at the rally were members of the Painters' Union, who repainted the home of Willie and April White for free after it was vandalized.

After working without a contract for over a month, AFSCME struck on March 27. They were outraged by

MetroHealth's announcement that it would no longer cover all employee health care premiums, and would reduce the number of sick days for new hires. Starting as low as \$5.62 per hour, the health care workers are fighting to stay above the poverty line. When the 2,200 strikers went back on April 18, they won a 9 percent raise over three years and company-paid hospitalization benefits for both full- and part-time workers.

In the face of the mounting racist attacks, even the Cleveland city council felt obliged to call a "prayer breakfast." What these Democratic Party pols are praying for is for blacks to "cool out" and accept the status quo. They're praying everyone will forget that Cleveland is a racist hellhole for its black residents, that tens of thousands of workers are laid off "on permanent vacation." And the racist thugs in the

streets often take their cue from the men in blue, the killer cops like Joseph Paskvan, who murdered Michael Woods in 1986.

Yet the "solution" advocated by Cleveland's black politicians, and their reformist hangers-on, is to blame the victims of this racist society, by championing the so-called "war on drugs." This is a *war on black people*, as racist cops sweep down on the poverty-stricken public housing "estates," beating and arresting at will. Integrated union power must be the force to smash Cleveland's rampaging racists. A revolutionary workers party must be forged in struggle against *both* parties of racist American capitalism. The grinding poverty and joblessness which characterize the ghettos of Cleveland and the desperate inner cities of America can only be eradicated through socialist revolution! ■

West Germany

Workers, Immigrants Must Smash Nazi Threat!

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 61, April/May 1989, newspaper of the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency.

The Nazis had advertised a Europe-wide celebration of genocide and race-hatred on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Adolf Hitler. Leading up to April 20, fascists circulated leaflets, targeting immigrant neighborhoods in West Berlin and Hamburg, calling for a second "Reichskristallnacht" (the Nazis' 1938 night of anti-Semitic terror) and "driving out all foreigners." In the former German capital a Turkish cemetery was desecrated. Many immigrant-owned shops closed and most children of foreign-born workers were kept at home on the 20th. But around West Germany the Nazis' plans fizzled. What materialized instead were anti-fascist defense actions, which were then attacked by the police. In Hamburg the cops jailed at least 41 immigrants who took measures to protect themselves.

In some places, German and immigrant parents organized joint patrols to guard schools and escort children. Many youths participated in anti-fascist patrols and demonstrations. Berlin police went after members of self-styled *Schutztruppen* (defense squads) which drove around the city on the lookout for attacks against foreigners and historic Jewish sites. Some 100 leftist demonstrators looking to skirmish with fascist bands were arrested in the West Berlin neighborhoods of Neukölln and Kreuzberg. Earlier, on the 19th, a massive cop presence unsuccessfully attempted to hinder a 3,000-strong demonstration of anti-fascist youth in the Hamburg neighborhood of Horn. Similar actions of anti-Nazi defiance took place on the 20th in the working-class neighborhoods of Wilhelmsburg, Kirchdorf and Veddel.

In West Berlin and Frankfurt, many leftists had looked to nascent "red-green" coalitions of the Social Democrats (SPD) and ecologists as a bulwark against reaction. But the cops' batons should have dispelled that illusion. In the face of the fascists' threats, what should have been seen that day were displays of proletarian power. As the *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* had urged: "The workers movement



West Berlin protest against ominous growth of fascist groups demands: "Nazis Out! Republikaner Out!"

must mobilize its forces to prevent these 'celebrations' of racist genocide."

Republikaner: Brownshirts Under Police Uniforms

In recent months, as Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democratic (CDU/CSU) government in Bonn continues to unravel, West German politics have polarized. In West Berlin in late January, the fascist Republikaner umbrella group got 7.5 percent of the vote in municipal elections. That night, some 10,000 leftists and unionists demonstrated their outrage; double that number protested the next day. On March 12, the Nazi NPD (National-Democratic Party) scored similar results in Frankfurt, and as the election figures became known more than 8,000 anti-fascists marched to city hall chanting "Nazis out" and "foreigners stay." Across the country the sinister Nazi resurgence has been met by broad-based protest, frequently with significant trade-union participation. West Germany's well-organized labor movement with its strategic immigrant component has the power to crush the fascists. *But that power must be used.*

In the Rhineland village of Schwandorf last December a Nazi psychopath firebombed a home, killing three members of a Turkish family and a Ger-

man. Immigrants, leftists, Jews, women, homosexuals: the list of the fascists' intended victims is long. And ultimately they intend to go after the entire organized workers movement.

The resurgence of German nationalism combined with Bonn's deportation and austerity policies has fueled the fascists' growth, as the CDU/CSU has been increasingly outflanked on the right. The Republikaner were formed in 1983 by rabidly revanchist elements from the Bavarian Christian Social Union's "brown" (fascistic) wing, after Franz Josef Strauss had "betrayed German interests" by negotiating a billion-mark trade credit to East Germany. Republikaner *fürher* Franz Schönhuber is a veteran of the Waffen SS and its "Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler" unit. Since he took over the Republikaner in 1985, Schönhuber has pursued an aggressive policy to try to regroup West Germany's fragmented fascist movement. For goon squads the Republikaner rely on skinheads and cops. On January 18 in West Berlin, Schönhuber boasted of his supporters in uniform outside—even as cops rioted against thousands of anti-Republikaner demonstrators.

Especially sinister are the Republikaner's direct ties to the bourgeois state. Former West Berlin CDU top cop and Nazi friend Heinrich Lummer, a notori-

ous middleman for assorted fascist organizations, was offered the chairmanship of the West Berlin Republikaner after the recent elections. The current West Berlin Republikaner *gauleiter*, Bernhard Andres, is both a cop and a crook, with numerous charges pending, including for forging documents. It's estimated that 20 percent of the West Berlin police and 100 percent of its paramilitary special units voted Republikaner. The reformists who call on the Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Protection of the Constitution) to ban the fascists are in many cases calling on the fascists to ban themselves. *Stern* (16 March) recently revealed that the man in charge of spying on immigrants in the Verfassungsschutz in Cologne is a Republikaner.

The state indeed has a use for "anti-extremist" laws—*against the left*. Take the witchhunt paragraph 129a. Since 1982, Christian Democratic interior minister Zimmermann banned four organizations: Hell's Angels, Michael Kühnen's Nazi ANS, Kühnen's NS and the Turkish leftist organization Devrimçi Sol. But Turkish leftist militants face arrest, deportation and ultimately death, while Kühnen is on the loose, only changing the name of his brownshirts. And it is the Red Army Faction (the so-called Baader-Meinhof group) and anyone Zimmermann defines as their "sympathizers" who rot in jail (when they are not found dead under suspicious circumstances). And in "red-green" West Berlin, the new coalition city government simply renamed the riot police. Meanwhile, the Greens and Social Democrats debate the Republikaner on TV, offering a platform for racist terror. We say, *genocide is not debatable.*

Class Struggle Against the Fascist Threat

The CDU responded to their stinging defeat in West Berlin by trying to be more nationalistic than the Nazis in Frankfurt, running a vicious racist campaign against the demand for municipal voting rights for immigrants. This demand, supportable in itself, is now advanced by the SPD (and taken up by the entire left) as *the* answer to the oppression of immigrants. But it is a typical reformist half-measure which maintains immigrants' pariah status. There must be an implacable struggle



Rothenburg police protect Nazis from anti-fascist demonstrators in February (left). Republikaner *fürher* Schönhuber under slogan "Germany first, the time is ripe."



against every form of racist discrimination and segregation in employment, housing, health and education, and against the arbitrary deportations and racist police raids. Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families! For the right of asylum for refugees from reactionary terror!

At the March 13 protest in Frankfurt, thousands of demonstrators loudly cheered the Hesse DGB labor federation chief when he threatened strike action to support two Turkish workers at the VDO auto parts plant after they were fired for fighting job cuts. These two courageous militants were on hunger strike for 20 days and only got their jobs back later that week when workers inside the plant occupied the room where the class-collaborationist *Betriebsrat* (plant council) held its meetings. On May 8, the day commemorating the crushing of Nazism (by the Soviet Red Army), the metal workers and commercial workers unions, which together represent 2.5 million workers, will hold mass demonstrations against "neo-Nazis and hostility to foreigners." These protests could be a tremendous demonstration of working-class power and determination—but not if they are merely election rallies for the cutback Social Democrats.

Given the conservatism of the SPD-dominated trade-union bureaucracy and the tailism and economism of most of the left, young anti-fascist militants have formed a myriad of collectives on a local basis. Frequently they oscillate between anti-racist "educational" propaganda directed at a diffuse "public," and inconclusive skirmishes with the fascist bands, in which the cops intervene to smash the anti-fascists. These youth want to fight the fascists but are not sure how. They often acknowledge the power of the unions but do not see the road to mobilizing them against the fascists.

Now, under the pressure of the ranks (and of events), even the DGB tops are beginning to talk a little tough. An editorial in *Metall* (24 Feb-



Antifa Infoblatt

West Berlin demonstration, including Turkish immigrants, demands: "Foreigners Stay—Drive Out Nazis." Fascists have targeted wretched camps where authorities pen up refugees seeking asylum (right).



Der Spiegel

ruary) recounts a skinhead provocation against leafleters of the Metal Workers youth in Hameln in 1987. "Death to the anti-fascists—we're coming to the party," threatened the fascists. "Yeah, they came, but the party went on," says *Metall*. "Because half a dozen skinheads were received by 20 tough marshals." Such disciplined, determined trade-union defense guards are needed in the hundreds and thousands. Worker/immigrant detachments

to defend refugees' quarters and immigrant neighborhoods, the meetings and offices of the left and workers movement, could clean out the fascist thugs in the subways, schools and neighborhoods.

The fact that the fascists can get up to 10 percent of the vote in Frankfurt and West Berlin workers districts like Wedding means that the fascists are feeding upon the very real problems of unemployment and lack of

housing. In addition to support from the armed gangs of the bourgeois state, Schönhuber, like his French counterpart Le Pen, finds support among petty-bourgeois shopkeepers and semi-proletarian layers, as well as public service employees who fear that government privatization measures will destroy their jobs. The fascists have also been picking up numbers of youth who have been unable to get into the

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Republikaner Provocation Against Anti-Fascist Meeting in West Berlin

The following statement was issued by the Committee for the Defense of the Moabit Anti-Fascists in West Berlin on March 7.

From November to the end of January, the racist "election campaign" by the Republikaner followed the same pattern: intimidation, provocation, violence and police traps against the West Berlin population. After one Republikaner provocation two weeks before the vote they attacked a number of anti-fascists, and now six of the *victims* are threatened with the serious charge of *Landfriedensbruch* (breaking the public peace through mob action)! The Republikaner think they have a license to fill their supposed electoral activities with provocative and threatening content since they have support in wide sections of the police. Behind the election posters are fascist gangs, armed with cameras, baseball bats and gas pistols!

On January 14 their target was Moabit, an integrated district inhabited by German and immigrant workers, where fascists have in the past been met with strong anti-fascist sentiment. On this evening, the Republikaner provoked customers in a local restaurant known as a meeting point for anti-fascist and left groups. Through the front windows, the Republikaner aggressively insulted those

sitting inside, brandishing their posters. Earlier that evening in the restaurant, the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) had shown a video of the successful labor/black mass mobilization in Philadelphia November 5 which stopped provocations by the fascist Ku Klux Klan and skinheads.

When members and supporters of the TLD and other customers went out to protest this disruption, they were violently attacked by the Republikaner. One woman supporter of the TLD was injured with a kick in the head. She required hospital treatment and was examined for a concussion.

In addition to the Republikaner poster team, led by Carsten Pagel, a "backup team" then appeared which had been standing ready in the background. One of them armed with a pistol and another with a camera, they went after the anti-fascists. These utensils are obviously not suited for postering but for premeditated violence, intimidation and setting traps! The Republikaner's drawn pistol later turned out to be a gas pistol. Threatening with a pistol is a serious crime—and that means *any* pistol. Photographs of decent people in the hands of fascists aid subsequent attacks.

All those who had protested against this fascist provocation returned to the restaurant in order to warn the customers (overwhelmingly immigrants)

and to ensure the safety of all. The Republikaner continued to run around with the drawn pistol in front of the restaurant, creating a situation in which it was equally dangerous to remain in the restaurant or to leave. Within two or three minutes a shock group of Republikaner stormed into the restaurant, still armed with pistol and camera. Now they were accompanied by six to eight radio patrol police, who also had obviously been on call. The customers, including a number who had not participated in the anti-fascist meeting, immediately expressed outrage at this stormtrooper attack with shouts such as, "It stinks in here!" and "Fascists out!" One Republikaner, now with pistol in holster, paraded back and forth in front of the customers while the police took down IDs. Now the participants in the anti-fascist meeting are threatened with three years in jail for breaking the public peace by mob action because they protested the Republikaner provocation and sought to ensure the safety of customers in the restaurant.

Republikaner *fürher* Carsten Pagel, a fervent admirer of Hitler's Hans-Ulrich Rudel, demonstrated a week later what he goes into the streets for. As he pulled a baseball bat out of his jacket on January 21, at almost the same location, he was prevented from using his weapon by spirited

anti-fascists.

The string of fascist attacks during the West Berlin elections continued to grow. The Republikaner's notorious racist TV election spot, first broadcast on January 2, set to the background music of "Play Me the Song of Death," brought forth enraged protests, from the SPD/DGB to the CDU's deputy for foreigners. Six days later in the Tiergarten (zoo) district, the memorials to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and that commemorating the victims of Nazi terror at the site of the former Plötzensee prison were desecrated by an "Adolf Hitler Committee" with halves of pigs' heads and scrawled swastikas. The *Tageszeitung* reported on February 2: "After the election of the 'Republikaner' into the city council, the mob obviously has an opportunity; suspected supporters of the right-radical party even went after district council delegates and attacked two from the Tempelhof Alternative List on their way home." The Alternative List delegates, who directly connected the attack with the Republikaner, have pressed charges. The Republikaner are also attempting to intimidate trade-union functionaries. The Republikaner even charged DGB chief Michael Pagels with slander when he called them what they are.

The West Berlin population has repeatedly expressed widespread revulsion against these fascists and their racist attacks. Stop the Republikaner! For mass worker/immigrant mobilizations! Stop all investigations and proceedings against anti-fascists immediately! Defend the Moabit anti-fascists!

Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund

We list here the contributions from April 9 to April 24 to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund (JCVAF), launched by the Partisan Defense Committee and joined by fraternal legal and social defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy and West Germany. A separate account has been established in each country for the fund drive. All funds collected are securely forwarded to the "Victims of Jalalabad" account established by the Afghan Embassy in Paris as donations clear the account. All administrative costs and any costs for publicity connected with the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund campaign are being paid by the respective legal and social defense organizations in each country.

Contributors receive numbered receipts, and the financial records of the fund drive are open to inspection by any bona fide workers organization. Listed are the amounts transmitted to the Afghan Embassy account, the amounts deposited in JCVAF accounts but not yet cleared, and the sum of these amounts which equals the total collected in each country. This is reported in each country's currency and in U.S. dollars, shown in brackets, at the exchange rate in effect on 24 April 1989.

	Donations Transmitted	+	Donations Deposited (Not yet cleared)	=	Total Collected
Australia Partisan Defence Committee Receipts Nos. 1-4	A \$870.91 [\$688.89]		A \$0.00		A \$870.91 [\$688.89]
Britain Partisan Defence Committee Receipts Nos. 1-68	£ 595.67 [\$1,016.81]		£ 636.45 [\$1,086.42]		£ 1,232.12 [\$2,103.23]
Canada Partisan Defense Committee Receipts Nos. 95401-95443	C \$1,506.84 [\$1,266.50]		C \$1,050.00 [\$882.53]		C \$2,556.84 [\$2,149.03]
France Comité de défense sociale Receipts Nos. 1/1-1/25	FF 6,245.95 [\$994.36]		FF 3,306.70 [\$526.43]		FF 9,552.65 [\$1,520.79]
Italy Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria Receipts Nos. 1-54	L. 1,103,680.00 [\$811.20]		L. 0.00		L. 1,103,680.00 [\$811.20]
United States Partisan Defense Committee Receipts Nos. 5001-5034	US \$1,037.69		US \$2,189.73		US \$3,227.42
West Germany Komitee für soziale Verteidigung Receipts Nos. 1-29	DM 2,507.51 [\$1,348.54]		DM 0.00		DM 2,507.51 [\$1,348.54]
International Totals (in US dollars)	\$7,163.99		\$4,685.11		\$11,849.10

Urgent Campaign for Victims of Jalalabad Siege

Around the world—in immigrant communities, at factories, workplaces and union halls, among foreign students—a campaign of international solidarity with the embattled working people and emancipated women of Afghanistan is under way. Under the slogan "No to the veil! Defend Afghan women! Support Jalalabad victims of CIA's cutthroats!" this effort has evoked sympathy among sections of the working people against the imperialist rulers who are arming and bankrolling the Afghan *mujahedin*. Over 100,000 leaflets have already been distributed by the Partisan Defense Committee and fraternal defense organizations in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, U.S. and West Germany. To date \$11,849.10 has been deposited in special accounts, of which \$7,163.99 has already been wired to the government of Afghanistan for material aid to civilian victims of the bloody battle at Jalalabad.

The Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund was launched by the PDC in response to an appeal issued by the Afghan government for a broad campaign of humanitarian assistance. The PDC, which has been active in the United States for more than a decade, is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization; this purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S. The Jalalabad campaign provided the impetus for initiating similar legal and social defense organizations elsewhere in conjunction with the sections of the international Spartacist tendency.

The women students, mothers and grandmothers in Kabul who have enlisted in the battle against Washington's murderous Afghan rebels should know that the cause of Afghan women has struck a chord. The campaign was kicked off at the massive abortion rights march in Washington April 9, where PDC supporters distributed more than 25,000 leaflets. The issue of women's rights has continued to be on the cutting edge of our efforts.

At the University of Wisconsin in Madison an older Jewish man put two of our campaign leaflets up at his draft resistance table. When an incredulous student asked if he supported the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan he shot back that the Soviet Union was virtu-

ally the only country that didn't "feed its Jews to the Nazis." From Hamburg, West Germany a comrade collecting for the Komitee für soziale Verteidigung (Committee for Social Defense) reported a very positive response "particularly among older women for whom the humanitarian appeal of a city destroyed

community which were called to commemorate anti-fascist militant Blair Peach who was beaten to death by the cops, the Partisan Defence Committee collected close to £300, mostly from Indian women and shopkeepers, as well as Sikh men.

Iranians, who from their own experi-



Partisan Defense Committee launches aid campaign at massive April 9 abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C.

by war recalls nightmares that never vanish."

A substantial portion of the money raised here has come from supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee. In Boston a longtime friend, who had originally pledged \$50, gave a check for \$300 after hearing a report from Radio Moscow about convoys that had suffered casualties near Kandahar. Especially generous have been the contributions from immigrant workers and their families.

At shopping areas in Toronto's East Indian community, women in saris put bills into Partisan Defense Committee collection buckets. In France, where the efforts are being organized by the Comité de défense sociale, an Afghan woman supporting a family of five on her welfare check donated 100 francs. On April 23, at two demonstrations in London's East Indian Southall com-

munity in Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" know only too bitterly the regime of terror and murder that will come if the Afghan counterrevolutionaries win, have assisted in the campaign. At the University of Hamburg a supporter of the Iranian Rahe Kargar group made a placard in Farsi of the central campaign slogan and came to our defense against a supporter of the Afghan *mujahedin*. Two Afghan students, who complained their community was being terrorized by supporters of Washington's "holy warriors," took bundles of leaflets.

At a teachers union meeting in West Berlin called to protest "racism, anti-Semitism and hostility to foreigners," several young Turkish women donated to the campaign saying, "We know what Islamic terror means." Much of the money raised by the Partisan Defence Committee at workplaces in Sydney and

Melbourne, Australia was from postal workers who encompass a rich ethnic diversity including Turks, Greeks, Italians, Arabs and Slavs.

For working people, the PDC campaign provides an opportunity to oppose the bloody designs of their "own" rulers. At a meeting of the Scottish Trade Union Council in Aberdeen, Scotland, £108 was collected. East Indian workers in New York City transit, which management runs with all the concern for safety that Union Carbide showed in Bhopal, organized among themselves to raise money.

Two collections at Transport House in London brought in £24 from dock workers who are headed into a confrontation with the Thatcher government over the abolition of the National Dock Scheme. Donations were also made at meetings of the Waterside Workers Federation in Melbourne. And at a Seamen's Union job pick, every single seaman gave money—one saying that if the CIA was behind the *mujahedin* he was "agin 'em."

In France, an organizer in the rail workers union, whose father was a leader of the Algerian FLN, reports he has raised 570 francs among friends and relatives. Supporters of the French Communist Party in the Stalinist-led CGT union federation, bitter that their own party is doing nothing, have given to the campaign for Jalalabad. The Soviet intervention into Afghanistan sharply divided the European CPs. Among some of the "hard-line" oppositionists our campaign has intersected bitterness over Gorbachev's withdrawal of the Soviet troops, part of his global program of appeasing imperialism. At an abortion rights demonstration in Rome, the Comitato di difesa sociale e proletaria raised the equivalent of \$300 for Jalalabad. A former leader of the Italian Communist Party youth took our megaphone to call on people to come and donate.

The cause of defending Afghan women and coming to the aid of the victims of the CIA's Afghan cutthroats has united conscious elements across ethnic and national lines: anti-Zionist Jews with North African Arabs, East Indian women and Sikh men, unionists and immigrant communities. But while our campaigners have found curiosity, sym-

Afghanistan...

(continued from page 1)

unarmed prisoners of war, the rebels initially predicted Jalalabad would fall within two days of the March 5 attack. Two days became seven, one week turned into five, the start of Ramadan (the month-long Muslim fast which began in early April) was revised to the end of Ramadan. Jalalabad stands while the "deadlines" fall.

Now a front-page lead article by senior correspondent Henry Kamm in the *New York Times* (23 April) bitterly admits:

"The attack has bogged down into a costly siege and has brought into question the ability of the guerrillas to achieve an early victory, or any victory, over the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul."

Swallowing their own anti-Communist "evil empire" hype, the imperialists had thought that the moment the Soviet "occupation" troops pulled out, millions of Afghans would flock to be "liberated" and the Kabul regime would crumble. What has begun to crumble instead are Washington's hopes that the disparate, disunited bands of fanatically reactionary "freedom fighters" are capable of sustaining the sort of concerted, large-scale military offensive needed to rapidly topple the left-nationalist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government.

Kamm reveals, in great detail, that the attack on Jalalabad "was ordered by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's Government at a meeting of civilian and military leaders in Pakistan, and in the presence of the American Ambassador... No Afghan was present at the meeting." The head of Pakistani military intelligence reportedly opposed the attack on tactical grounds, arguing that the guerrillas were only capable of maintaining a war of attrition based on small-scale ambushes and harassment. Pakistani, Saudi and American involvement in the siege of Jalalabad is an open secret. The Pakistani army's 11th and 18th divisions—over 6,500 troops and scores of tanks and artillery units—have been involved in the assault on Jalalabad. So why the "revelations" now? Because Washington's expectations are being frustrated.

In the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, the U.S. and its NATO allies pulled their embassies out of Kabul, seeking to sow panic and isolate the PDPA regime internationally. They hoped for the establishment of a "provisional government" in Jalalabad in time to be seated at the Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers in Riyadh last month. But the rebels have suffered such heavy losses recently—up to 5,000 by government estimates—that one guerrilla commander, Abdul Haq, lamented, "Sometimes now it becomes difficult to convince our people why we should go on fighting at such a cost when even the Russians have gone" (*India Today*, 15 April).

For its part, Najibullah's PDPA regime, left in the lurch by Gorbachev's pullout of Soviet troops, is placing the limited social reforms achieved thus far on the bargaining table in exchange for "national reconciliation." But none of



Reuters

Members of Afghan women's militia. Women are in the forefront of the battle to defend their social emancipation.

the seven feuding parties in the coalition of Islamic fundamentalists and monarchists based in Peshawar are interested in a deal with the Kabul regime.

While the guerrillas have been strategically unsuccessful on the battlefield, they have shown their real intentions in a number of massacres of defenseless men, women and children. At Samarkhel, just east of Jalalabad, *mujahedin* massacred two dozen government troops in March even as they surrendered. And the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (18 April) describes an eyewitness account, initially reported by TASS, of one recent atrocity:

"According to the report, a motor column was supposed to bring dozens of women, children and old people from Jalalabad to Kabul. The buses and trucks were stopped by a 'band of Afghan extremists' led by Saudi Arabian advisers. The drivers were lined up on the shoulder of the highway and shot. Small children were held up by their hair, shot in the face and their corpses thrown into Kabul River. Pretty women from the convoy were dragged off into the mountains by the rebels. The rest of the refugees were shot on the spot."

"Country or Coffin!" is the battle cry of the government forces defending Jalalabad. In Kabul, reporter Shekhar Gupta observed (*India Today*, 31 March) that "only the most hopelessly biased can fail to see that a large section of the army will fight to the finish." But it is not only the realization that they face a fate worse than death if captured by the *mujahedin* that spurs on the government fighters. From the outset ten years ago, the war in Afghanistan has posed a struggle over elementary social progress—land reform, restricting the bride price, teaching young girls as well as boys to read—pitting the Soviet-backed modernizing nationalists of the PDPA against mullahs, tribal chiefs and landlords.

The Red Army intervention in 1979 opened the possibility of social revolution in this hideously backward country, while defending the Soviet Union against imperialist provocation on its

southern border. Gorbachev's pullout, aimed at appeasing U.S. imperialism, opened the possibility of a counter-revolutionary bloodbath of the Afghan urban population.

But the Kabul regime and the urban population who have had a taste of social emancipation did not simply roll over and play dead. And with the help of Soviet-made MIG-23s, attack heli-



Lorch/NY Times

Civilians fleeing *mujahedin* bombing of Jalalabad. Refugee columns have been massacred by the bloodthirsty "holy warriors."

copters and surface-to-surface Scud-B missiles launched from Kabul, the Afghan army has been drubbing the *mujahedin*. "The guerrilla leaders concede that the Afghans piloting the helicopter gunships and fighter strike aircraft have shown greater determination than the Russians who trained them," writes Gupta.

As an auxiliary to the more than 100,000 troops in the Afghan military and secret police, the government has armed and mobilized a people's militia of some 300,000. And not surprisingly, it is those who have the most to lose if

the *mujahedin* win who are among the most enthusiastic and courageous fighters. An article in the *London Times* (28 February) headlined, "Kabul women queue to sign up for battle against the rebels." Less than a week after the government announced the formation of a voluntary women's militia, more than 1,000 women had joined, "united in their hatred for the Mujahidin" and showing "a willingness to die for their cause."

One woman said, "We know that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (one of the seven main Mujahidin commanders) wants women to be hidden away again behind the *chador*, but we will kill to prevent that happening." (Hekmatyar first became notorious in the early '70s when his thugs threw acid in the faces and shot at the legs of unveiled women students at Kabul University.) Another woman, who had already been trained in use of a Kalashnikov, added: "I know that, if I do not take up arms, the enemy will try and kill and rape us, as they have in those parts they have already captured."

Other women militia members, ranging in age from 16 to 50, described how their sons and husbands had been murdered by the reactionaries. "Now at last I have found a way to take my revenge," declared one 36-year-old volunteer named Ramia. At a public ceremony in Kabul on March 8, International Women's Day, the women's militia, many of them proudly wearing their battle fatigues, were presented with their arms, which included rockets, mortars, machine guns and automatic Kalashni-

kov assault rifles.

The fighting at Jalalabad remains fierce. The Afghan people have already suffered incalculable sacrifices, and they will suffer more. But they must not fight alone. The Partisan Defense Committee has launched an urgent international campaign of material aid to the civilian victims of the CIA's cutthroats in Jalalabad (see page 8). The battle for Afghanistan is a battle for toilers and oppressed around the world. Every fighter for social progress, every defender of women's rights has a stake in its outcome. ■

pathy and surprising support among many layers of working people and minority communities, one sector of society is simply hostile: the anti-Soviet "left." In Lyon, France a campus member of Lutte Ouvrière sneered, "What difference does it make if a woman can take off her veil?" At San Francisco State University, a member of the Russia-hating International Socialist Organization, which is for the victory of the *mujahedin*, claimed that women in Iran wanted to wear the veil.

The people of Jalalabad are fighting for their lives against a bloodthirsty

mélange of landlords, moneylenders, mullahs, tribal chiefs and bandits who get billions from Washington and its allies, funneled through the rapacious Pakistani military. We urge you to give generously to aid the civilian victims of the CIA's "freedom fighters." Every dime and dollar collected (and every pound, franc, mark, yen and peso) will be sent to Afghanistan. Please send contributions, payable to the Jalalabad Civilian Victims Aid Fund, to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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Mexico...

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groaning under brutal anti-worker austerity while government-controlled unions police the workers. The CNTE dissidents are fighting an entrenched bureaucracy led by Carlos Jonguitud Barrios, the despotic "moral guide" and "leader for life" who ruled the SNTE for the last decade and a half through his "Vanguardia Revolucionaria" gang. Jonguitud, now a senator of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), crudely expressed the government's fears that the union opposition "has taken the teachers as a spearhead to unite everyone from seamstresses to sexual deviants to attack the system" (*La Jornada*, 2 April). These are not just verbal insults. Vanguardia gunmen have killed more than 150 dissident teachers since 1980. And behind the SNTE tops is the Mexican capitalist state.

From the beginning, Bartlett declared the strike "illegal and illegitimate," but the government hasn't dared ban it. The strike has remained solid. So in an effort to contain the rebellion, on the eve of a scheduled April 24 national teachers march, Jonguitud visited President Salinas at home to resign from his union position and as head of Vanguardia. The next day half a million striking teachers and their supporters poured into the Zócalo, Mexico City's Consti-



Oil workers march on presidential palace, January 12, protesting arrest of union leader. Salinas government has declared war on labor.

followed by a 72-hour walkout beginning March 7. In a show of labor strength, that day 150,000 teachers and parents marched on the Zócalo from seven different points, bringing downtown traffic in the world's largest city to a stop. "Mexico City in a State of Coma," headlined *Ovaciones* (7 March). The following day a group of dissident teachers took their protest to the Legislative Palace where they inter-

herd on the ranks. And it could quickly head toward a general strike, not only busting the starvation wage pact but posing the question of power.

SNTE Tops: Counterrevolutionary Rearguard

Carlos Jonguitud seized control of the teachers union by force in 1972, when a gang of his Vanguardia thugs assaulted SNTE offices. Jonguitud is a *charro* bureaucrat par excellence, often compared to oil workers leader Joaquín Hernández Galicia ("La Quina") who was arrested earlier this year in a military assault on his home (see "Mexico Rulers Declare War on Labor," *WV* No. 470, 3 February). But the same day that La Quina was dragged off to jail in his underwear, Jonguitud visited the Mexican president at home. Salinas even spoke at the SNTE congress in February. Where La Quina was a corrupt patriarch who threw a few crumbs to the oil workers, Jonguitud is a murderous gangster who has kept the one million SNTE members in line through bullets and the muscle of "fraternal delegates." The oil workers are Mexico's best-paid unionized workers; the teachers, the worst paid.

The CNTE opposition grew out of teachers' struggles in the southern states of Chiapas and Oaxaca beginning in 1979. The teachers are looked to as community leaders in the countryside against the domination of the political bosses, or *caciques*. And given the close ties under Mexico's semi-corporatist regime between Jonguitud's Vanguardia and the PRI, the *caciques* are often the local SNTE leaders. So the bitter fight for union democracy and a living wage overlaps with the peasant struggle against the landlords with their hired *pistoleros*. Here is where the assassinations of dissident teachers have reached a peak, with 42 killed in Oaxaca alone. One of the demands of the current strike is for an end to the bloody repression and release of four teachers from Oaxaca and Chiapas being held as political prisoners: Rubén Gómez Calvo, Germán Mendoza Nube, Reynaldo G. Díaz and Antonio Roque Cruz.

Over the last decade, the CNTE dissidents have courageously stood up to the PRI government and Jonguitud's "counterrevolutionary rearguard" which has run the teachers union as its fiefdom. Oaxaca teachers of Section 22 waged a heroic 60-day strike in 1986; many of these union fighters have been martyred. But trade-union militancy is not enough to defeat the entrenched bureaucracy backed up by the PRI. While some CNTE supporters earlier invited government intervention, chanting "First La Quina, now Jonguitud," now they are saying "Gordillo is also a little *charro*!" It will take a class-struggle fight for the independence of labor from the bourgeois state to sweep away the labor cops of the PRI-controlled Mexican Workers Fed-

eration (CTM). And that requires the leadership of a genuinely revolutionary vanguard party.

Revolutionary Class Struggle Against Capitalist Austerity

The popularity of the CNTE strike reflects the fact that millions of working people, and even sections of the middle class, are looking to the teachers for leadership in fighting against a system which has produced a catastrophic decline in living standards. Having already slashed the number of state-owned companies from 1,100 to 400 as budget minister in the previous six-year reign of Miguel de la Madrid, Salinas is now out to "restructure" the rest to make them more attractive to private investment. What they have in mind is to bail the capitalists out of their financial crisis by throwing workers out of their jobs.

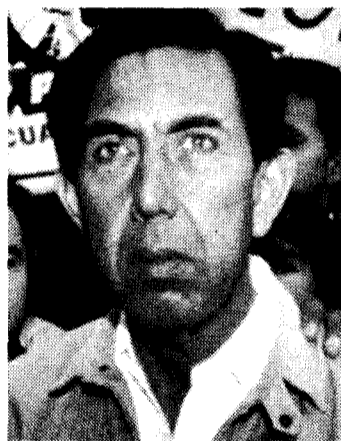
An effective struggle against this capitalist offensive poses challenges which simple trade unionism cannot answer. Take the teachers' fight for a decent wage. The CNTE's demand for a 100 percent raise would only bring them back to the levels of 1982. But to do so would mean a tremendous rise in the education budget. Where is this to come from? Today Mexico spends only 1.9 percent of its gross national product on education. Yet even by government figures, 56 percent of the federal budget goes to pay interest on Mexico's \$102 billion foreign debt! Even the bourgeois nationalist opposition led by Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas has recognized the teachers are being sacrificed "on the altar of servicing an unpayable debt" (*Excelsior*, 21 April).

But former PRI leader Cárdenas and his new Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) only want a "moratorium" on payments until better terms can be negotiated with the imperialist banks. And this slogan is taken up by the "leftists" who tail after the Cardenista popular front. Thus the Zapatista Workers Party (PTZ), followers of the late Argentine fake-Trotskyist Nahuel Moreno, calls on "the comrades of the PRD to put forward together the immediate moratorium on the debt in order to grant wage raises to the teachers and all workers" (*El Socialista*, April 1989). For this purpose the PTZ even calls on Cárdenas & Co. to organize "a great united national mobilization" and to "demand that a special session of the federal legislature be called." What parliamentary cretinism, appealing to their bourgeois Cardenista "comrades" to implement the capitalist program of suspending debt payments!

The only way to free the Mexican working people from the suffocating pressure of the imperialist debt is by repudiating it outright, as the Bolsheviks did upon taking power in October 1917. But what would this entail? It would immediately be met with an imperialist economic boycott. Even a bureaucratically deformed workers state such as Fidel Castro's Cuba has not proposed, much less carried out, such a revolutionary measure, even though Castro declares the debt is "unpayable." To cancel the debt requires a revolutionary mobilization of



Larry Reider



Smith/Gamma-Liaison

President Carlos Salinas (left), "elected" last year through massive fraud against populist challenger Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas.

tution Plaza opposite the presidential palace. Passing in front of *Excelsior*, Mexico's leading daily, they chanted, "We aren't one, we aren't 100—sellout press, count us well." Demonstrators waved a banner, "Jonguitud Didn't Resign, We Resigned Him." But despite government efforts to stampede teachers back to work, teachers rejected the new SNTE head, Ester Gordillo. CNTE leader Teodoro Palomino said, "we will continue seeking the wage increase and union democracy."

The teachers' mobilization was triggered when the SNTE tops excluded the opposition from the union's national congress early this year. In response, the CNTE dissidents organized a 24-hour and then a 48-hour strike in February,

rupted the pompous parliamentarians with cries of: "We eat tortillas with salt. What do you eat?"

The teachers strike could be the spark that ignites a labor counteroffensive against the starvation policies carried out by the PRI regime at the behest of the IMF bankers' cartel. More than six years of devastating attacks on the working class have created the tinder for a social conflagration. The Salinas government's "pact for economic stability and growth" with its 10 percent wage ceiling has literally meant hunger for millions of poor and working people. A serious fight now for a 100 percent increase for all Mexico's workers could break the stranglehold of the *charro* (cowboy) labor bureaucrats who ride

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Chicago...

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investigation of more than 130 instances of racist beatings and torture—including electric shock and suffocation—by white cops at the Brighton Park police station on the South Side. Now Daley sits in the mayor's chair.

The deep race/class oppression in Chicago cries out for militant, integrated social struggle. But this is anathema to the Democratic Party politicians—black and white. In "Segregation City," where living on the "wrong side" of the "color line" means your home may be firebombed, the word "integration" was never mentioned by Washington or his protégé Evans. In the summer of 1986, when the KKK mobilized over 3,000 frenzied racist thugs in Marquette Park, Washington told blacks to give the Klan the "silent treatment." The cops enforced his "advice" by beating and arresting leftists and blacks who sought to protest the fascists' racist terror.

The Washington administration was brought in to suppress social struggle by forming a popular-front coalition to bind the black ghettos and labor to the Loop financiers—with a little help from the reformist left. When the heavily black Chicago Teachers Union struck with other school unions in the fall of 1984, the walkout was denounced as "racist" by Washington's political allies, who went all out to break the strike. And when black bus driver Cassandra Seay was brutally beaten by the Chicago cops in her own home in July 1987, the pop-front "black empowerment" crowd was silent. Militant unionists in the ATU, including supporters of the Spartacist League, mobilized a successful labor/black defense of Seay, beating back the cops' frame-up.

During Washington's administration, municipal service cuts hit hard at minorities, the poor and working people. But one agency was beefed up: the cops. Likewise, Evans vowed to "get tough on criminals," presenting an anti-drug program calling for "increased enforcement." Jackson got on the law-and-order bandwagon during the campaign, calling for "civilian patrols" to help the cops stop "vulgar behavior" (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 November 1988).

This "war on drugs" is a leading edge of the ruling class' offensive against the unions and the urban poor, the rationale to beef up the repressive machinery of the capitalist state. The Chicago Housing Authority's blatantly unconstitu-

tional drug raids—followed by evictions of families caught in the presence of drugs (and forget about due process)—have already become the model for a nationwide racist crackdown in public housing run by right-wing Republican Jack Kemp. As part of the feds' program of random drug testing of all transportation workers, the Chicago



Transit union militants lead successful defense of CTA bus driver Cassandra Seay against cop frame-up. WV Photo

Transit Authority is bringing cops and drug-sniffing dogs in to intimidate the mostly minority transit workforce. In Chicago and across the country, it is the Democratic Party city administrations which are implementing the "drug war" on unions, blacks and the poor.

In the aftermath of Washington's death, the popular-front lash-up he had kept intact through his personal authority underwent a spectacular disintegration, with "Uncle Tom" Sawyer elevated to mayor on the votes of the racists. In this election, with Washington's coalition crumbling all around them, Evans, Jackson and their allies scrambled to keep their black voting bloc intact. "Race is the *only* damn issue in this campaign," attorney Thomas Todd, a former U.S. attorney and Operation PUSH leader, told a South Side rally. Jesse Jackson told blacks to turn out at the voting booth to "keep the keys" to City Hall. But black Chicagoans

couldn't "keep the keys" because they never had them.

Jackson is playing a cynical game: he supported the re-election of Daley as state's attorney (on a ticket brokered by Harold Washington) just last year. The bourgeois press speculates about whether Jackson's support to Evans means black politicians will bolt the Dem-

ocratic Party in other cities. But Evans' program was no different from Washington's. Jackson's Rainbow Coalition is a trap to keep blacks and labor imprisoned in the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. In Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles, "black faces in high places" means more of the same for the ghetto masses.

Militant, integrated class struggle can roll back the bipartisan war on all working people. In 1983 we stood alone on the left in warning that "Harold Washington Will Betray Black Chicago" (*WV* No. 328, 22 April 1983). In response to Washington's slogan that his election meant that for black people "it's our turn," we wrote: "If it is to be 'our turn' to rule for blacks, workers, Hispanics and the poor they must break with the Democratic Party and find within their ranks the class-conscious leaders that can forge a fighting workers party determined to wage *class war* for power." ■

The fight for the Mexican workers revolution is the fight to forge an internationalist Trotskyist party as part of a reborn Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

West Germany...

(continued from page 7)

apprenticeship programs. And the lumpenproletariat, the hard core of the "no future generation," has spawned the skinhead bands that are a reservoir for a future SA.

Bonn's anti-immigrant policies have fanned widespread racism in West German society. It is not surprising that the single most explosive issue creating conjunctural support for the fascists is the question of ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) from East Europe, some 200,000 of whom immigrated to the capitalist West in 1988 alone. (Only "Aryans" need apply—Leonhard Freiberg, a German Jew who had lived in Romania, died earlier this year in Hessen after he failed for 40 years to obtain status as a German national.) The fascists seek simultaneously to recruit from these immigrants and capitalize on resentment against them in the competition for the ever-shrinking pool of jobs, social services and housing.

Permanent mass unemployment demoralizes and disorganizes the working class and provides a recruiting ground for the fascists. To fight unemployment, hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike for the 35-hour workweek in 1984. But the DGB bureaucrats channeled the struggle into piecemeal shortening of the workday by a few minutes every year or so into the 1990s. And only the most privileged workers are getting this, while large sections of the workforce are left out, creating resentment. What is needed is an aggressive, frontal attack on unemployment that can win over a section of the marginal "little" people as well as benefiting all workers. The unions must fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours! All existing work should be divided up among the labor force, and the length of the workweek decided accordingly—at no loss in pay.

What is needed is a revolutionary struggle for power, the fight for a genuinely planned economy based on the expropriation of the capitalist class by a workers government. A Leninist vanguard party must be forged that acts as a tribune of the people. The fascists exploit the division of Germany to recruit to anti-Communist revanchism. The Trotskyists counter with a program of proletarian internationalism—for the defense of the USSR and DDR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! For the revolutionary reunification of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East, as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

the workers inside the imperialist colossus. This was the program of the Communist International, founded 70 years ago, which was later betrayed by Stalin's nationalist program of "socialism in one country" at home and popular-front alliances with the "progressive" bourgeoisie abroad.

Repudiation of the imperialist debt, a sliding scale of wages to match inflation, a sliding scale of hours to combat unemployment (divide the available work among all those seeking jobs): simply to ensure the survival of the working people requires a program that points directly to a socialist planned economy. And that requires proletarian revolution, not limited to the national confines of a relatively backward capitalist country like Mexico but extending to the imperialist metropolis to the north as well. The key is a Trotskyist workers party, forged on the program of permanent revolution, in struggle not only against the ruling PRI, but also against the Mexican (and international) bourgeoisie's backup solution, the Cárdenas popular front.

Militant oppositions to the *charro* bureaucrats of the CTM unions are nothing new in Mexico. In fact, the semi-corporatist structure of the PRI regime, resting in good measure on a state-controlled labor bureaucracy, encourages syndicalist currents. During the 1970s there was a wave of "dem-

ocratic tendencies" in the unions. But because they were not won to a program of revolutionary class struggle against capitalism, with a slight shift in the political climate they were ultimately reincorporated into the PRI. Today, many of the erstwhile "independent" unions have politically subordinated themselves to the Cárdenas front, the substitute PRI. Others capitulate directly to the ruling party. Thus after selling out the month-long strike by National University Workers last November, STUNAM leader Evaristo Pérez Aurreola accepted a position as an adviser to Salinas. Many leftists have criticized this as a betrayal—more importantly, it is in the logic of a purely syndicalist "opposition" to the regime.

It is not possible to successfully fight for trade-union democracy and independence without a political program of revolutionary class struggle. Writing about the French "independent" unionists of the 1920s, the syndicalists, Leon Trotsky commented that:

"Independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie cannot be a passive state. It can express itself only by political acts, that is, by the struggle against the bourgeoisie... the real independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois government cannot be realized unless the proletariat conducts its struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary and not an opportunist party."

—L.D. Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism" (1929)

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Chicago: Segregation City, U.S.A.

Boss Daley Jr. Takes City Hall

CHICAGO—A Daley is back in City Hall. The April 4 mayoral election was won by Richard M. Daley, the son of the late, unlamented "Boss" of the racist Democratic Party machine. Six years after Harold Washington became the first black mayor of "Segregation City," the racists in Chicago's lily-white neighborhoods are celebrating their "recapture" of City Hall. Daley succeeded in winning the votes of Hispanics, Jews and "lakefront liberals," all of whom were key elements in Washington's popular-front coalition. But mainly, Daley, heavily backed by big downtown real estate developers, was looked to by racists in the "bungalow neighborhoods" as the "great white hope," running in the footsteps of his father. Race was the dividing line, as whites voted for white candidates by better than ten to one, and blacks for black candidates by an equal margin.

The death of Harold Washington in November 1987 set the stage for the special election to fill out the final two years of his term. In the February 28 Democratic primary, Daley easily beat black acting mayor Eugene Sawyer. Widely known as "Uncle Tom" Sawyer, he was boosted into the mayoralty by the racist bloc of white aldermen who had waged guerrilla war against Washington, trying to deny him the normal prerogatives of his office. When blacks stayed home in droves rather than vote for Sawyer, Jesse Jackson, who endorsed

him, intoned, "We have a mutiny in our community" (*New York Times*, 1 March). In the April 4 general election, Jackson urged blacks to vote for Democrat Tim Evans, Washington's City Council floor leader and heir apparent, who ran under the "Harold Washington Party" label.

Like Washington before them, neither Sawyer nor Evans addressed the desperate plight of minorities and all working people in Chicago. Also like Washington (and Daley Jr.) they both came out of Boss Daley's machine. All the black Democrats campaigned on the basis of capitalist fiscal responsibility, law and order, and the anti-drug witchhunt. Like the black Democratic mayors from Detroit to Atlanta, they were pledging their loyalty to the racist capitalist rulers of this country. Black attorney Ron Brown, newly elected head of the Democratic National Committee, used the Chicago election to demonstratively back Daley.

Harold Washington's election in 1983 sparked enormous hopes and illusions among Chicago blacks. It was touted by the reformist left as the coming of "black empowerment" and the road to black freedom. But those illusions were dashed as life in the most segregated city in America only continued to get worse: from rampaging cops to the city's campaign against the residents of the massive housing projects, black Democrat Washington ruled to enforce cap-



David Walberg

Chicago mayor Richard M. Daley, Jr.

italist reaction. And all that his political heirs offer is more of the same.

Green Light for Cop and Klan Terror

Daley's victory has already emboldened both the racist cops and Klan/Nazi scum. Just six days after the election, four self-proclaimed Klansmen "celebrated" by murderously at-

tacking Ralph Brooks, a 16-year-old black youth, as he stood in front of his home in the North Side neighborhood of Uptown. Brooks suffered an injured knee, a broken elbow and a skull fracture that may leave him blind in one eye. KKK leader David Duke and his Hitlerite Populist Party rode into town on March 3, on the coattails of Daley's primary victory. That time the race-terrorists were met with a militant, united-front demonstration organized by the Partisan Defense Committee (see "No Hitlers in Chicago!" *WV* No. 473, 17 March).

The cops and Klan think they have the green light. And they're not just remembering the racist rule of "Boss" Daley, who ordered his cops to "shoot to kill" as the ghetto erupted after the assassination of Martin Luther King, and presided over the midnight murder of Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. As Cook County state's attorney in 1985, Daley Jr. had his sheriff's deputies shackle black bus driver David Johnson to his hospital bed, after his innocent involvement in a traffic accident in which seven suburban youths died. But Daley's persecution of Johnson was stopped cold as over 700 black, Hispanic and white members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) marched on police headquarters in a massive display of union power. In 1982, Daley stonewalled demands for an

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Cleveland: Racist Attacks Escalate

CLEVELAND—Cross-burnings, fire-bombings, racist vandalism, and outright racist murder: these are some of the ways this Rust Belt metropolis maintains its status as the second most segregated city in America. Yet the barrage of racist violence during the first three months of 1989 has startled even the normally oblivious city council and spurred several demonstrations of community outrage. Since January, seven major racist attacks have shaken Cleveland, culminating in a Howard Beach-style shotgun attack March 17, in which a gang of white punks chased down and shot at four black teenagers from the Union-Miles area.

The four blacks were visiting a white friend on the Southeast Side (once an Eastern European ethnic bastion, now about 40 percent black), when a car with four white men drove by. As the black teenagers were walking home, the car drove by again with a shotgun pointing out the window. The black youths tried to run away, but the whites in the car pursued them as they ran through the streets, under a bridge and up a hill toward the railroad tracks. "Once we got on the tracks, we thought we were safe," said Iree Lardell. "But two of those guys were already up there, and



Eddie Jones

Four black teenagers, victims of shotgun attack, with their supporters.

they must have had a second shotgun," since they started firing away (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 March).

After the attack, the four black teenagers ran for help to a nearby house and a fire station. They were treated for pellet wounds at St. Luke's Hospital. Iree Lardell, 17, took two shots, in his right hand and the right side of his

back. Lonzell Blue, Maurice Williams and Jerrod Johnson were also injured. Their would-be murderers were soon caught and initially charged only with felonious assault, but as public outrage began to build, a grand jury later upped the charges to include attempted murder.

The March 17 shotgun attack came

on the heels of a series of racist attacks. A black church on Addison Road, near the white ethnic enclave of "Slavic Village," has been repeatedly vandalized, with shots fired into the minister's office, bricks and rocks thrown through the windows, and racial slurs scrawled on the walls. On March 7, a cross was burned at the home of Lorice Edwards, a black bus driver who had moved into the predominantly white Willoughby section a few months before. In another incident in the predominantly white section of St. Clair-Superior, Willie White, 40, said he and his family returned home after a weekend trip to find furniture slashed, Drano poured on the wood floors, mirrors and lamps broken, racial slurs painted on the walls.

No one has been charged in any of these crimes. Meanwhile, the Cuyahoga County Metropolitan Housing Authority (CMHA) was evicting a 94-year-old woman, Suzie Richardson, and throwing her few possessions into the street, for the "crime" of owing \$98 in back rent! Richardson says the real reason is because she lives with her 56-year-old boyfriend, who is white.

And while the racist terrorists go free, a black youth faces jail for successfully

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